

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ARA-10 IO-06 INR-05 CIAE-00  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 SP-02 L-01 PM-03 DODE-00 EUR-08  
EB-04 EA-06 /069 W  
-----084461 061445Z /50

P R 060914Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2399  
INFO USINT HAVANA  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY MASERU POUCH  
AMEMBASSY MABANE POUCH  
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 1689

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG MOPS CG BC  
SUBJECT: NACB AND INTER-AFRICAN FORCE

REF: A) GABORONE 1639 (NOTAL) B) STATE 140672 (NOTAL)

1. SOCIAL OCCASION JUNE 3 PERMITTED A LENGTHY  
DISCUSSION WITH MINISTER OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND  
INFORMATION D. K. KWELAGOBÉ (WHO IS ALSO DE FACTO  
DEFENSE MINISTER). KWELAGOBÉ WAS GOB DELEGATE,  
ALONG WITH GOB UN AMBASSADOR TLOU, AT HAVANA NACB  
MEETING MAY 15-20. THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES SALIENT  
POINTS OF DISCUSSION INCLUDING (A) PUERTO RICO  
ISSUE, AND (B) PROPOSAL FOR INTER-AFRICAN DEFENSE  
FORCE.

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2. PUERTO RICO. I REITERATED OUR APPRECIATION  
FOR GOB RESERVATION ON PUERTO RICO IN FINAL  
COMMUNIQUE OF NACB MEETING (REF A). IN REVIEWING  
GOB'S APPROACH TO NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS, KWELAGOBÉ  
SAID GOB DOES NOT INSTRUCT ITS DELEGATES ON  
SPECIFIC ISSUES. RATHER DELS ARE AWARE OF  
GUIDING PRINCIPLES WHICH GOVERN GOB POLICY. THUS

HE JUDGED THE PUERTO RICO ISSUE ON BASIS OF WHETHER PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD BEEN OBSERVED. KWELAGOBÉ RECALLED THERE HAD BEEN REFERENDUM AND PEOPLE HAD EXPRESSED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR THE STATUS QUO. THIS WAS DECISIVE FACT WHICH GOVERNED HIS ACTION IN RECORDING GOB RESERVATION ON THE COMMUNIQUE. KWELAGOBÉ COMMENTED IN PASSING THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT PUERTO RICO. RECALLING RECENTLY POSTPONED AAI INVITATION TO TRAVEL TO US, I SAID I THOUGHT VISIT TO PUERTO RICO COULD AND SHOULD BE ARRANGED WHEN HIS VISIT IS RESCHEDULED.

3. INTER-AFRICAN FORCES. IN REVIEWING REPORTS OF RECENT NEWS EVENTS, DISCUSSION TURNED TO ZAIRE. I REVIEWED OUR RECENT ACTIONS AND MENTIONED WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT AN AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE WITH LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE, WITH THE FORCES THEMSELVES COMING FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES (REF B). KWELAGOBÉ'S PROMPT REACTION WAS TO SAY IT WAS A GOOD IDEA IN PRINCIPLE BUT "IT WILL NOT WORK-- AT LEAST NOT BEYOND THE FRANCOPHONE STATES". WHILE FRANCE APPEARS TO HAVE THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SUPPORT AND THE FORCES, ALONG WITH AFRICAN BASES, NECESSARY TO MAKE SUCH A PROPOSAL WORK, COOPERATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND OTHER

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WESTERN COUNTRIES ON THE ONE HAND, AND BETWEEN FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE COUNTRIES IN AFRICA ON THE OTHER, IS NOT ADEQUATE TO ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF SUCH A PROPOSAL. KWELAGOBÉ THEN LAUNCHED INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE RESTRAINTS ON UK AND US PARTICIPATION, PRINCIPALLY THE STRICT PARLIAMENTARY CONTROLS AND PUBLIC OPINION THAT IS OPPOSED TO INVOLVEMENT. KWELAGOBÉ ADDED THAT GOB ITSELF APPRECIATES AND PRACTICES PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY-- BUT NOT AT THE PRICE OF IMMOBILITY.

4. KWELAGOBÉ PROCEEDED TO REVIEW RECENT HISTORY BEGINNING WITH THE ASSERTION THAT "THE WEST HAS NEVER HELPED LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WITH ARMS; THIS TASK YOU HAVE LEFT TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST". WITH THE UK HIGH COMMISSIONER HAVING JOINED DISCUSSION, KWELAGOBÉ ASKED HOW THE UK COULD HAVE "TURNED SOUTH AFRICA OVER TO THE NATIONALIST PARTY AND VORSTER'S PREDECESSORS", AND HOW THEY COULD HAVE AGREED TO "TURN RHODESIA OVER TO IAN SMITH". ANSWERING HIS OWN QUESTIONS,

KWELAGOBÉ SAID IT WAS BECAUSE THE UK WAS NOT WILLING, WHETHER BECAUSE OF GOVERNMENT OR PARLIAMENTARY OPINION, TO "STAND UP FOR THE CAUSE OF MAJORITY RULE AND DO WHAT WAS RIGHT". AS A RESULT, KWELAGOBÉ ADDED, IT IS AN ACCEPTED SLOGAN IN NON-ALIGNED AND OAU CIRCLES THAT "WHERE ARMS ARE CONCERNED, YOU CANNOT TRUST THE WEST, RATHER YOU CAN ONLY TRUST THE EAST". HE SAID THE LEADERS OF EASTERN COUNTRIES, WHO DO NOT HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT PARLIAMENTS OR PUBLIC OPINION, CAN BE COUNTED UPON TO "REACT QUICKLY". UK HIGH COMMISSIONER CONCEDED THAT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES CAN REACT MORE QUICKLY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE TO CONTEND WITH PUBLIC OPINION; HE WARNED, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES DO NOT GIVE ASSISTANCE FOR DISINTERESTED REASONS. KWELAGOBÉ SAID AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAVE UP TO NOW NOT LOST CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS WHERE COMMUNIST ARMS WERE ACCEPTED AND CITED ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE (WHICH HE HAS VISITED OFTEN) AS EXAMPLES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 1689

LIMDIS

5. KWELAGOBÉ MENTIONED IN PASSING THAT HE WAS READING A "MOST INTERESTING" BOOK ENTITLED "IN SEARCH OF ENEMIES" WHICH I GATHERED HE PICKED UP (OR PERHAPS WAS GIVEN) DURING HIS HAVANA VISIT. FROM THIS BOOK HE FOUND CONFIRMATION THAT THE US AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD NO SINCERE INTEREST IN AIDING AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE.

6. COMMENT: AS DE FACTO DEFENSE MINISTER (PRESIDENT KHAMA IS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF DEFENSE FORCE BUT DELEGATES CONSIDERABLE AUTHORITY TO KWELAGOBÉ), KWELAGOBÉ IS FULLY INFORMED ABOUT (A) GOB'S REQUEST TO US FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EQUIP THE BOTSWANA DEFENSE FORCE FOR THE PROTECTION OF ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY; (B) US REFUSAL TO ENTERTAIN SUCH A  
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REQUEST; (C) OUR ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN PROGRAM GRANT AS A MEANS OF ATTAINING THE SAME OBJECTIVES BY REPLACING RESOURCES DIVERTED FROM DEVELOPMENT TO DEFRAID DEFENSE AND REFUGEE COSTS; (D) US DELAY, NOW APPROACHING SIX MONTHS SINCE PRINCIPLE OF THE PROGRAM GRANT WAS DECIDED UPON, WITHOUT ANY FIRM COMMITMENT TO AID GOB; AND (F) REPEATED ASSURANCES FROM USSR, PRC AND CUBA OF WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ARMS AVAILABLE TO BOTSWANA PROMPTLY AND ON EASY TERMS.

7. IT TAKES LITTLE EFFORT TO READ INTO KWELAGOBÉ'S REMARKS A SCARCELY-CONCEALED ANALYSIS OF WHAT HE BELIEVES THE PROSPECTS OF OBTAINING ESSENTIAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE, WITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY FROM THE US OR THE UK. THESE ARE CRITICAL TIMES IN DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES THAT WILL DETERMINE WHETHER BOTSWANA RETAINS ITS PRESENT POLICY OF COOPERATING WITH THE US OR TURNS OF NECESSITY (IN ITS VIEW) TO COMMUNIST SOURCES OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE. US APPARENT INDIFFERENCE TO GOB PLEAS FOR HELP ARE HAVING THE EFFECT, HOWEVER UNINTENDED, OF ABDICATING SECURITY ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.  
NORLAND

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 06 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Review Content Flags:**  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014